

Alicja Witalisz

Pedagogical University of Krakow

Contact-Induced Right-Headed Interfixless N+N Compounds in Polish. A Corpus-Based Study

Abstract

While English-Polish language contact results chiefly in English lexical loans, the influence of English on Polish in recent decades has not been limited to lexis and semantics. English penetrates deep into the structural patterns of Polish, and English N+N compound loanwords and loanblends become models for Polish structural neologisms, whose coining may be seen as a violation of native word-formation rules or, at best, as the boosting of a native potential yet non-productive word-formation pattern. It is argued in the article that the increasing productivity of the word-formation rule for deriving right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in Polish is a by-product of intensive lexical borrowing from English. The article explains the mechanism that is responsible for the contact-induced increased productivity (or perhaps the adoption) of a word-formation rule in the recipient language and illustrates it with corpus-sourced material. Most of the newly coined contact-induced N+N formations in Polish are hybrid creations formed in series by analogy to English structural models. The identified formal features of the analysed N+N compounds place them outside of the traditionally recognized types of Polish compounds.

Key words

interfixless compound, borrowing, loanword, loanblend, hybrid creation, word-formation

Streszczenie

Wpływ języka angielskiego na współczesną polszczyznę nie ogranicza się wyłącznie do wzbogacania jej zasobu leksykalnego i semantycznego. Typowe dla angielszczyzny bezinterfiksalne złożenia rzeczownikowe zapożyczone do polszczyzny w postaci zapożyczeń właściwych i półkalk służą jako model strukturalny, według którego tworzone są w języku polskim neologizmy strukturalne, uważane przez niektórych badaczy za wynik naruszenia zasad rodzimego słowotwórstwa, przez innych za sygnał ożywienia nieproduktywnego dotąd modelu słowotwórczego. Artykuł ma na celu opisanie cech bezinterfiksalnych złożów rzeczownikowych tworzonych we współczesnej polszczyźnie, a także wyjaśnienie i zilustrowanie, za pomocą materiału otrzymanego z korpusu, mechanizmu odpowiedzialnego za powodowaną wpływem obcym wzmożoną produktywność (lub być może zapożyczenie) opisywanego modelu słowotwórczego, widzianą jako efekt uboczny intensywnego zapoży-

czenia z języka angielskiego na poziomie leksykalnym. Bezinterfiksalne złożenia rzeczownikowe w dzisiejszym języku polskim to głównie polsko-angielskie formacje hybrydalne tworzone seriami na zasadzie analogii do angielskich modeli strukturalnych. Omawiane złożenia wykazują cechy formalne, które każą je sytuować poza obszarem trzech typów polskich złożen opisanych w literaturze.

Słowa kluczowe

compositum, złożenie bezinterfiksalne, zapożyczenie, półkalka, formacja hybrydalna, słowotwórstwo

1. Introduction

English-Polish language contact has predominantly been unidirectional and has chiefly resulted in lexical borrowing from English, as evidenced by its well-researched outcomes.¹ While the first, 17th-century English lexical loans included a handful of culture-specific terms, it was not until the second half of the 20th century that English linguistic influence on Polish became intensive enough to encourage scholars to carry out extensive research into the area of Anglicisms (e.g. Fisiak 1961, Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1992, 1995) and compile dictionaries of lexical loans from English (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2004, SZA M-W). The political changes of 1989 in Central Europe found a direct reflection in the steadily growing number of lexical Anglicisms, which has been estimated to nearly triple in recent years (cf. 2500 lexical loans in 2010 (SZA M-W) and the estimated 7000 in 2017 (SZA F)).

English lexical loans (loanwords) in Polish appear in the shape of simple and compound lexemes, e.g. P. *event*, *hejt* (< E. *hate*), *open space*, *native speaker*; derivatives, e.g. P. *selfie*, *impeachment*; blends, e.g. P. *cyborg*, *fan-zine*; clippings, e.g. P. *nick*, *pub*; acronyms, e.g. P. *VIP*, *laser*; and catchphrases, e.g. P. *Sky is the limit*. A relatively new trend in the borrowing process, observed in the last 20 years, is translating and half-translating English polymorphemic expressions into Polish, which results in one- and multi-word loan translations, e.g. P. *przeglądarka* < E. *browser*, *szklany sufit* < E. *glass ceiling*, *wychodzić z szafy* < E. *to come out of the closet*, and loanblends, e.g. P. *kobieta biznesu* < E. *businesswoman* (Witalisz 2015: 97ff). Also native Polish lexemes and well-assimilated loanwords extend their meanings through copying the polysemies of their English counterparts, which gives rise to single-word and multiword semantic loans, e.g. P. *ciasteczka*, *chmura* and *mysz* in their computer/web-related senses < E. *cookies*, *cloud* and *mouse*, respectively; *przypudrować sobie nos* 'to inhale a drug' < E. *to powder one's nose* (Witalisz 2007: 268, 2015: 183). Less frequent are loan creations, e.g. P. *sygnalista*/

¹ For full (pre-2016) bibliography see e.g. Witalisz (2016) or <https://www.nhh.no/en/research-centres/global-anglicism-database-network/publications/>.

tka 'lit. signal + suffix *-ista/-istka*' < E. *whistleblower*; *zaplecze intelektualne* 'lit. intellectual back-up' < E. *think tank*, where the English expression serves only as a stimulus for the coining of a native lexeme. English pragmatic loans are conventionalized formulas used with a specific discursive function, e.g. P. *Milego dnia* has been loan translated from E. *Have a nice day*. Polish has adopted several morphological loans from English, e.g. the suffix *-ing* and several combining forms, e.g. *e-*, *-gate*, which have been used productively in native formations (Ochmann 2004; Waszakowa 2005; Witalisz 2014a; Mańczak-Wohlfeld and Witalisz 2016).

English-Polish language contact has also brought about less tangible and much harder to prove effects such as the growth of the productivity of several word-formation processes, which has been recorded in the works of e.g. Waszakowa (2001: 99, 2005), Konieczna (2012: 70), Jaworski (2014: 35) and Witalisz (2016: 148). Polish journalists, advertisers and young people resort to blending, clipping, acronymy and compounding in their language use that is modelled on the American patterns of presenting news, creating commercials, and on the slang of various American subcultures. Recent examples of hybrid blends modelled on foreign expressions include: P. *Ponglish*² (*polski* 'Polish' + *English*) created by analogy to *Denglish* and *Spanglish*, and P. *Polxit*³ (*Polska* 'Poland' + *exit*), formed analogically to *Brexit* and *Grexit*. Young Poles create native clippings, e.g. P. *komp* < *komputer* 'computer', *siema* < *Jak się masz?* 'How are you?', formed by analogy to English clipped loanwords, e.g. P. *apka* (< E. *app*), *hi-fi*. English abbreviated loanwords, e.g. *TTYL* (*talk to you later*), *btw* (*by the way*), become models for Polish abbreviations coined by users of new technologies, e.g. *zw* (*zaraz wracam* 'be back soon'), *crb* (*co robisz* 'what are you doing').

The aim of this article is to present yet another outcome of English-Polish language contact. Research carried out in the area of Polish compound neologisms shows that they increasingly follow a word-formation rule that is typical of English (and generally of Germanic languages) but has never been productive in Polish. This has been observed in the case of Polish neological compounds that make use of English combining forms such as *e-*, *cyber-* and *-gate*, and in the case of Polish N+N compounds, which are right-headed and, quite untypically of Polish, interfixless. The claims we would like to put forward are the following: the activation of the productivity of a previously non-productive word-formation rule for deriving right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in Polish is contact-induced; the productivity of the discussed word-formation rule has not been triggered independently of the intensive lexical borrowing from English (just as the adoption of a foreign

² *Dwujęzyczność i Ponglish* by M. Błasiak, Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2011.

³ „[...] zwanego Brexitem. Mniej emocji budzi pełzający Polxit (... known as Brexit. Much less excitement is aroused by creeping Polexit.)” (*Newsweek Polska*, March 20, 2016).

bound morpheme does not happen independently of lexical borrowing, see Witalisz 2014a: 327–328 on *-ing*); the productivity of the word-formation rule in question is growing in Polish, as evidenced by a systematic corpus-based search, and this growth is sourced not only in the fashion for Anglicisation, but mostly in the formal transparency, semantic brevity and communicative functionality of the analysed compounds.

2. Compounding as a word-formation process in Polish and features of N+N compounds

In contrast to English, in which compounding is one of the most productive means of expanding the lexicon, pre-1989 Polish seldom resorted to compounding as a word-formation process exploited for onomasiological needs (see e.g. Rozwadowski 1904; Grzegorzczkova and Puzynina 1998: 458). Despite a number of 20th-century studies devoted to the description of compounds in Polish (for bibliography see Kurzowa 1976), in a 1977 count, nominal compounds were described as constituting a mere 1.6%⁴ of the Polish lexicon and being characteristic chiefly of specialized languages (Blicharski 1977). This marginal productivity of compounding in Polish, however, has been reported to increase steadily (e.g. Satkiewicz 1976: 116, 1981: 152). In more recent works, it has been emphasised that compounds constitute 34% of the post-1989 nominal derivatives (Jadacka 2001: 75; 2009: 109) and 65% of nominal neologisms in contemporary Polish (Waszakowa 2005; see also Ochmann 2004; Waszakowa 2010: 355; Sękowska 2012; Szymanek 2015: 217).⁵ What is important for the present argument is not only the growing productivity of compounding as a word-formation process in Polish (see Section 3), but also the changing ratio of interfixless compounds to compounds formed with an interfix. The former have been on the increase and constituted 15% of nominal compounds formed in 1945–1964 and 41% of the post-1989 nominal compounds (Jadacka 2001: 57, 94, 116).

The formations that are regarded as products of the process of compounding in Polish form a heterogeneous group and have received various understandings

⁴ This count excludes compound words in which one or both elements are combining forms, such as e.g. P. *-fil* ('-phile'), *-logia* ('-logy').

⁵ A large proportion of compounds in contemporary Polish are formed with the use of combining forms, which originally come from Latin and Greek but have become productive in Polish due to English influence, e.g. *mega-*, *eko-* (*eco-*), *mini-*, *hiper-* (*hyper-*), *super-*, *wideo-* (*video-*) or are of English provenance, e.g. *-gate*, *e-*, *cyber-*, *-(o)holik* (< E. *-(a/o)holic*) (the latter two, originally from Greek *kybernētikós* 'steering' and *hólos* 'whole', respectively, in their new senses used in Polish have been borrowed from English) (Waszakowa 2005: 174; Mańczak-Wohlfeld, Witalisz 2016).

in the literature. Traditionally, scholars have identified three subgroups of compounds, i.e. *zrosty*, *złożenia właściwe* and *zestawienia*, with the latter type excluded from word-formation (in Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina 1998: 364; Willim 2001; Jadacka 2009: 121) on account of being more part of phraseology due to their borderline status between word-formation and syntax. Taking into account the various approaches to compounds proposed in the literature (Satkiewicz 1969: 40ff; Kurzowa 1976: 7ff; Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina 1998: 455ff; Jadacka 2009: 120ff; 2010; Waszakowa 2010), the three subtypes of Polish compounds are characterised as follows (with the reservation that scholars differ in detail as for their understanding of the terms).

Table 1. Classes and features of Polish compounds

Type 1: <i>Zrosty</i> ‘interfixless compounds’ e.g. <i>Wielkanoc</i> ‘(lit. great night) Easter’	Type 2: <i>Złożenia właściwe</i> ‘compounds proper’ e.g. <i>żywopłot</i> ‘(lit. live fence) hedge’	Type 3: <i>Zestawienia</i> ‘multi-word compounds’⁶ e.g. <i>panna młoda</i> ‘(lit. maid young) bride’
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fixed order of elements • idiomaticity • right-headedness (usually) • zero interfix • synthetic group • first element may lose inflectionality • zero derivational affix • both elements retain inflectional morphemes • word stress typical of a single word • hyphen possible 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fixed order of elements • idiomaticity • right-headedness • interfix • synthetic group • first element loses inflectionality • derivational or paradigmatic affix 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fixed order of elements • idiomaticity • left-headedness • --- (not applicable) • analytic group • both elements retain inflectionality

The features of compounds that are of primary importance for the present study are right-headedness and the use of an interfix. Polish does not normally allow right-headed interfixless compounds in which the noun head is premodified by another noun in its basic (nominative case) form, for which one of the reasons is the high inflectionality of Polish.⁷

Right-headedness in Polish compounds proper (Type 2) is conditioned by the introduction of an interfix, *-o-*, *-u-*, or *-i-(-y-)*, as in e.g. P. *gwiazdozbiór* ‘(lit. star-o-collection) constellation’, *stulecie* ‘(lit. hundred-u-year) century’,

⁶ Or ‘nominal phraseological units’ in current phraseology-oriented terminology.

⁷ In English, and generally in Germanic languages, forming N+N compounds is a free creation, limited only by the speakers’ creativity. Scarce inflection in English indirectly eases the process of conversion. The lack of a formal difference between the noun *race* and its adjectival homonym *race* facilitates the formation of right-headed compounds, in which the same form *race* functions as either head or modifier, cf. E. *horse race* and *racehorse*.

cudzyśłów ‘(lit. somebody else’s-y-words) inverted commas’. The exception to this rule are the infrequent interfixless solid compounds (Type 1) in which, however, the premodifying element is either 1) an adjective, e.g. *P. Wielkanoc* ‘(lit. great night) Easter’, 2) a prepositional phrase, e.g. *P. wniebowzięcie* ‘(lit. in heaven taking) Assumption’, or 3) an inflected noun_{Gen.}, e.g. *P. okamgnienie* ‘lit. eye_{Gen.} twinkling’. Interfixless compounds are infrequent in Polish and cannot be treated as outcomes of a productive word-formation rule. They result from gradual lexicalization of phraseological units (Grzegorzczkova and Puzynina 1998: 456ff; Nagórko 1998: 195; Szymanek 2015: 218ff).

The premodifying element in Polish compounds, as proved in earlier studies, is never a noun in its basic (nominative case) form if the compound has a synthetic form. The single instances of right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in which both nouns appear in the nominative case in their basic form include lexicalized expressions that are analytic in form: *P. zuch chłopak/dziewczyna* ‘(lit. scout boy/girl) well done!’, *cud dziewczyna* ‘(lit. miracle girl) beautiful girl’, *duśa człowiek* ‘(lit. soul person) good-hearted person’. These expressions are idiomatized and cannot give evidence to a productive word-formation rule. Perhaps this is why they never appear as illustrations in the theoretical studies on Polish compounding quoted above.

Other Polish N+N compounds with a head noun modified by a noun in the nominative case are left-headed and equally rare, e.g. *P. pies obrońca* ‘(lit. dog defender) defending dog’, *dieta cud* ‘(lit. diet miracle) miracle diet’, *ściągą matka* ‘(lit. crib mather) original crib’, *statek widmo* ‘(lit. ship phantom) phantom ship’.

The only instances of the right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in question are early (more or less adapted) loanwords from German, e.g. *P. burmistrz* < MG. *Burg-mīster*, and English, e.g. *P. jachtclub* < E. *yacht club*. The calqued compounds that appeared in Polish as 19th-century loan translations from German, e.g. *P. językoznawstwo* < G. *Sprachkunde*, *czasopismo* < G. *Zeitschrift*, *duśpasterz* < G. *Seelsorger* (Walczak 1987: 31; Brückner 1974: 365), were formed, contrary to their German models, with either the interfix -o- (the first two examples) or with an inflected premodifying noun_{Gen.} (the last example), so they follow the recipient language word-formation rules.

It is interesting to note that Polish right-headed interfixless N+N formations have been interpreted as representing various classes of compounds. *P. herod-baba* ‘(lit. Herod woman) shrew’, *duśpasterz* ‘(lit. souls_{Gen.} shepherd) priest’ and *okamgnienie* ‘lit. eye_{Gen.} twinkling’ are classified as *zrosty* (Type 1) (Grzegorzczkova and Puzynina 1998: 456; see also *okamgnienie* and *psubrat* ‘(lit. dog_{Dat.} brother) scoundrel’ in Nagórko 1998: 195). On the other hand, interfixless *cechmistrz* ‘(lit. guild master) master craftsman’, coupled with an old English loanword *jachtclub* ‘yachtclub’, are classified as *złożenia właściwe* (Type 2) (Grzegorzczkova and Puzynina 1998: 458). It is not clear

why *herod-baba* and *jachtklub*, both right-headed, endocentric, interfixless and with the first element losing inflectionality, are treated differently in the same study (Ibid.; cf. also Jadacka 2009: 121 who classifies *biznesdama* 'lit. business lady' and *sekszasopismo* 'lit. sex magazine' as *zrosty*). Similar examples of interfixless N+N compounds are found in Kurzowa (1976: 42), i.e. *baletmistrz* 'ballet master', *zegarmistrz* '(lit. clock master) clocksmith', *kunsztymistrz* '(lit. craft master) craftsman', classified as *złożenia właściwe* with a zero interfix. All the examples in the last set involve the same lexical component, *mistrz* 'master', which implies they have been coined analogically to a German-sourced adapted loanword *burmistrz* < MG. *Burg-mīster*. Therefore, referring to the focus of this paper, their formation cannot serve as evidence to a native productive word-formation rule, especially in view of the fact that other formations with *-mistrz* take the interfix *-o-*, e.g. *ogniomistrz* '(lit. fire master) ordnance officer'.

In contrast to English, Polish multi-word nominal compounds (Type 3) are typically left-headed and are derived with the use of the following structural models: 1) N+N_{Gen.}, e.g. P. *wyścig szczurów* '(lit. race rats_{Gen.}) rat race', 2) N+Adj, e.g. *gwiazda filmowa* '(lit. star movie_{SUFF.}) movie star', and 3) N+PP, e.g. *spotkanie na szczycie* 'lit. meeting on summit_{Loc.}'.

Referring to the features of compounds presented in Table 1, there are both formal and semantic reasons for including the right-headed interfixless N_{Nom.}+N formations presented in Section 3.2 in the category of compounds: they have a fixed order of elements that are inseparable and the first constituent loses inflectionality, they form single lexemes that express single concepts and exhibit various degrees of idiomaticity. While most of the analysed interfixless N+N compounds are synthetic in form and are, as we have seen above, classified as *zrosty* (Type 1), analytic formations such as these with *party* as head (see Table 9) pose a classificational problem, which only proves their newness.⁸ It is interesting to note that Waszakowa (2010: 359) classifies such analytic formations (as *disc jockey*, *reality show* and *biznes informacje* 'business information') as compounds of Type 3 (see Table 1), despite the fact that they exhibit different formal features than typical *zestawienia*. In contrast to *zestawienia*, such as *gwiazda filmowa* '(lit. star movie_{SUFF.}) movie star' and *wyścig szczurów* '(lit. race rat_{Gen.}) rat race', formations such as *biznes informacje* are right-headed and the first element loses inflectionality.

What follows from the above considerations is that the chief difference between English and Polish N+N compounds is the use of an interfix in Polish, which conditions right-headedness. The latter is also possible in Polish if the

⁸ The unstable spelling of some of the analysed formations may result from copying English-patterned no-rule-governed spelling of compounds and/or from the relative newness of the word-formation rule in question and lack of awareness of orthographic rules among language users, provided appropriate rules do exist.

premodifying element is an adjective, a prepositional phrase, or an inflected noun_{Gen.} The right-headed interfixless N+N compounds, either synthetic or analytic in form, as fully motivated formations composed of modifier and head that are word stems joined directly to form a new lexeme, are a relatively new phenomenon in Polish (see also Ochmann 2004: 52; Waszakowa 2005: 55). They are considered by some scholars products of a new, foreign word-formation rule (Jadacka 2001: 143; 2009: 109; Waszakowa 2010: 352, 354ff; Buracka 2010: 231).

3. Contact-induced productivity of right-headed interfixless N+N compounding in Polish

Attributing the appearance and growing productivity of right-headed interfixless N+N compounding in Polish to the influence of English is not a new claim. It has been repeatedly expressed in studies on language-contact and on new morphological developments in contemporary Polish; the exemplifications, however, have been scarce, e.g. *P. test-mecz* 'lit. test match' (Miodek 1980: 180), *fliz shop* 'lit. tile shop', *hurt-land* 'lit. wholesale land', *auto złom* 'lit. car scrap', *auto lakiernia* 'lit. car paint shop', *auto-szkoła* 'lit. car school' (Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1993: 281), *gaz-rurka* 'lit. gas pipe', *Sopotfestiwal* 'lit. Sopot [place name] festival', *kredytbank* 'lit. credit bank' (Jadacka 2001: 143), *sport telegram* 'lit. sport telegram', *Biznes radio* 'lit. business radio', *Biznes magazyn* 'lit. business programme' (Ożóg 2004: 239); also in Markowski (2000: 98), Otwinowska-Kasztelaniec (2000), Waszakowa (2001: 99) and Sękowska (2007).

It is important to note that in earlier studies on word-formation innovations in Polish right-headed interfixless N+N compounds of the type discussed here are not mentioned (e.g. Buttler 1981; Satkiewicz 1981). More recent studies attest instances of right-headed interfixless N+N compounds, which, however, are adapted English loanwords or English-Polish hybrid formations composed by analogy to the former, e.g. *biznesdama* 'lit. business lady', *biznesplan* < E. *business plan*, *sekszasopismo* 'lit. sex magazine' (Jadacka 2009: 121), *sojaburger* < E. *soya burger*, *bekonburger* < E. *bacon burger*, *wieśburger* 'lit. village burger', *kurczakburger* < E. *chicken burger* (Buracka 2010: 235), *biznespartner* < E. *business partner*, *biznesplan* < E. *business plan*, *bizneswoman* < E. *businesswoman*, *seks-biznes* < E. *sex business*, *seks-party* < E. *sex party*, *protest song*, *disc jockey/dyskdżokej*, *reality show*, *NATO-officer* (Waszakowa 2010: 354–9). As already mentioned, hyphenated and analytic N+N compounds are labelled *zestawienia* (Type 3) (Waszakowa 2010: 354–9), while one-word N+N compounds – *zrosty* (Type 1) (Jadacka 2009: 121).

As attested in the quoted studies, right-headed interfixless N+N compounds (with a noun_{Nom.} as premodifier) have been coined in Polish in the

last three decades. The growing productivity of the analysed word-formation rule is a contact-induced phenomenon rather than an independent native development. There are several reasons to support this claim. The N+N compounds in question, which now appear in numerous series in Polish, are translations or, more often, half-translations of English models, e.g. P. *automyjnia/automyjnia* < E. *car wash*, *radio konkurs* < E. *radio competition*, *Komputer Świat* < E. *Computer World*, *DVD premiera* < E. *DVD premiere*, *Biznes Wiadomości* < E. *Business News*. These (half-)replicas of English etymons serve as structural models for whole series of analogical expressions formed in Polish, as will be evidenced by a corpus-based search in Section 3.2. Also, 29% of the 2500 English lexical loans attested in SZA M-W (2010) are compound words, borrowed into Polish as simple lexemes, and 13.5% of the 2500 lexical loans, i.e. nearly half of all compounds listed in SZA M-W, are right-headed interfixless N+N compounds that follow the typical Germanic word-formation rule for compounding, e.g. P. *cheeseburger*, *cocktail party*, *face lifting*, *grejpfrut* < E. *grapefruit*, *kitesurfing*, *reality show*, *snowboard*, *soundtrack*, *talk show*. The morphological analysis of English compound loanwords, facilitated by the reappearance of a common lexical element in a series of loans, e.g. P. *biznesmen* < E. *businessman*, *bizneswomen* < E. *businesswoman*, *biznes plan* < E. *business plan*, *show-biznes* < E. *show business*, and by a relatively good command of English among Polish speakers, has contributed to the recognition of a foreign word-formation rule, which has become productive in the recipient language.

Yet, measuring the productivity of a word-formation rule cannot be based on analysing loanwords and reproduced (half)-translations of foreign models (see Section 3.2). Word-formation productivity, understood as the degree to which a particular word-formation rule is used to produce new lexemes, can be proved through attesting derivatives formed on the Polish soil independently of foreign models. Following the principle that the number of derivatives is indirectly proportional to their frequency, a corpus-based search allows to assess the productivity of a word-formation rule by attesting right-headed interfixless N+N *hapax legomena*, whose low frequency but considerable number confirm the growing value of productivity (e.g. Baayen 1993: 193; Bauer 1983: 88; 2005).

3.1. Corpus-based search for right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in Polish

The claim that the analysed word-formation rule for forming compounds has been activated (or borrowed) due to English influence has been based, as presented in Section 3, on a handful of examples and made, it seems, intuitively. A systematic corpus-based search will help to find out whether the

word-formation rule for deriving right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in Polish has indeed become productive, and also that it has become productive under English influence. However, a systematic corpus-based search for independent right-headed interfixless N+N compounds that are composed exclusively of native Polish morphemes is very difficult for lack of appropriate search tools in the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP); therefore the search has to be limited to compound words that include an English morpheme.

Nine compound constituents borrowed from English have been selected as the basis for the search: *burger*, *biznes* < E. *business*, *fan*, *man*, *boy*, *-land*, *party*, *show* and *shop*, all of which are listed as lexical loans in the SZA M-W. The reason for selecting these particular English loanwords is two-fold. It is assumed that if Poles indeed copy and use the analysed word-formation rule productively, they must do so by imitating the structure of foreign words (that were formed with the use of that particular rule). If so, they are likely to (re-)use the same compound constituents that appear in foreign compound loanwords borrowed into Polish. The lexical items selected for the study appear frequently as components of compound loanwords attested in SZA M-W, and also as parts of loanblends (see 3.2).

Secondly, most of the compound constituents selected for the research appear in Polish studies on recent developments in Polish word-formation. It is interesting to note that these morphemes are often seen as combining forms, due to their reappearance in whole series of compound expressions, and as such are usually hyphenated (e.g. Ochmann 2004: 201 [-*top*]; Waszakowa 2005: 56, 140, 168, 174 [-*man*, -*show*, -*top*, -*fan*]), which is contrary to SZA M-W, where they are registered as independent lexemes (except for *-land*), since they are used as such by Polish speakers. In other words, they are independent lexical loans; their use in the derivation of Polish compounds is their secondary function. This terminological discrepancy, however, is of marginal significance for the present study, since in both cases the selected items serve as bases for compound words.

In the corpus search we will look for interfixless N+N formations in which the compound constituents selected for the study appear in either head or pre-modifier positions.

3.2. Language data

The NKJP-based search for right-headed interfixless N+N compounds involves looking for concordances for four types of formations that contain a foreign morpheme and are either direct or indirect outcomes of language contact. To address the issue of productivity of the analysed word-formation rule, it is necessary to separate English N+N compound loans, which cannot prove the productivity of a word-formation rule in Polish, from native N+N formations

coined on the Polish soil and having no equivalents in English. This latter class of compounds, including hybrid creations and pseudo-Anglicisms, proves that the word-formation rule in question is used creatively by Polish speakers.

The terminology used in Table 2 follows the classic typology of contact-induced innovations used in studies on language contact (e.g. Haugen 1950: 221; 1956: 765; Weinreich 1953: 47ff; Gómez Capuz 1997; Haspelmath 2009: 39).

Table 2. Types of contact-induced compounds containing (a) foreign morpheme(s)

loans (L)		native formations (NF)	
<i>loanword</i> (LW)	<i>loanblend</i> (LB)	<i>hybrid creation</i> (HC)	<i>pseudo-Anglicism</i> (P-A)

Since scholars differ in detail as for the understanding of the terms in Table 2, we offer their definitions following the classic works in the field of language contact. Loanwords are cases of complete morphemic importation of a foreign model, as in P. *laptop* < E. *laptop*, *jazz-band* < E. *jazz band*. Loanblends are half-translations (semi-calques) that result from partial morphemic importation and partial morphemic substitution, i.e. they are partial reproductions of English models (Haugen 1950: 215; also Betz 1949: 26; Weinreich 1953: 52; Duckworth 1977: 40; Molnár 1985: 65; Staszewski 1985: 216; Buttler 1990: 149), e.g. P. *długi drink* < E. *long drink*, *aniol biznesu* < E. *business angel* (Witalisz 2015: 183ff). Loanwords and loanblends are traditionally regarded as direct outcomes of language contact, i.e. they are considered loans. Composed of morphemes coming from two different languages are also hybrid creations, yet in contrast to loanblends they have not “come into being as imitations of a foreign model” (Haugen 1950: 220) and so are not regarded as a type of loan, e.g. P. *balkon party* ‘lit. balcony party’ created by analogy to E. *garden party*. Formal pseudo-Anglicisms are expressions coined from genetically English morphemes in languages other than English (e.g. Carstensen 1980, 1981; Filipović 1985; Grzega 2003; Furiassi 2010), e.g. P. *beforing* and *before party* (formed by analogy to E. *after party*) do not exist in English despite their English components (Witalisz 2014b: 5). Hybrid creations and pseudo-Anglicisms, both without English models, are not considered loans *per se*. They are created within the recipient language and fall within the category of native formations having only been stimulated by language contact.

Though loanblends and hybrid creations are both instances of hybrids, it is necessary to separate the two categories while trying to prove the productivity of the analysed word-formation rule. In contrast to loanblends, which are just partial lexical imitations of their foreign etymons, hybrid creations,

having no discoverable foreign models, are independent native formations in Polish and their coining serves as evidence of the productivity of a word-formation rule.

For reasons of clarity, the findings of the corpus-based research have been organized in Tables 3–11, with the four categories of language contact outcomes listed separately. The research material has been sourced largely from the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP), as well as from SZA M-W (2010), Waszakowa (2005), Rostowska (2009) and Witalisz (2009).

Table 3. *P. biznes* (< E. *business*)

L	LW	<i>biznes class, biznes club, biznes lider</i> (< E. <i>business leader</i>), <i>biznes lunch, biznesmen, biznes partner, biznes plan, bizneswomen</i> (< E. <i>businesswoman</i>)
		<i>holokaust biznes</i> (< E. <i>holocaust business</i>), <i>seks biznes</i> (< E. <i>sex business</i>), <i>show-biznes</i> (< E. <i>show business</i>)
	LB	<i>biznes analityk</i> (< E. <i>business analyst</i>), <i>bizneskobieta/baba/dama</i> (< E. <i>business-woman</i>), <i>bizneschłop</i> (< E. <i>businessman</i>), ⁹ <i>biznesdoradca</i> (< E. <i>business advisor</i>), <i>biznes dyskusja</i> (< E. <i>business discussion</i>), <i>biznesdziura</i> (< E. <i>business hole</i>), <i>biznes elita</i> (< E. <i>business elite</i>), <i>biznesgra</i> (< E. <i>business game</i>), <i>biznesgwiazda</i> (< E. <i>business star</i>), <i>biznesklasa</i> (< E. <i>business class</i>), <i>bizneskrach</i> (< E. <i>business crash</i>), <i>bizneskumulacja</i> (< E. <i>business jackpot</i>), <i>bizneslot</i> (< E. <i>business flight</i>), <i>biznesludzie</i> (< E. <i>business people</i>), <i>biznesłakocie</i> (< E. <i>business candies</i>), <i>biznes rada</i> (< E. <i>business advice/tip</i>), <i>biznesrynek</i> (< E. <i>business market</i>), <i>biznesankcja</i> (< E. <i>business sanction</i>), <i>biznes-śniadanie</i> (< E. <i>business breakfast</i>), <i>Biznes Wiadomości</i> (< E. <i>Business News</i>)
NF		<i>auto biznes</i> (< E. <i>car business</i>) ¹⁰
	HC	<i>biznesbabcia</i> ‘lit. business grandma’, <i>bizneslinkownia</i> ‘(lit. business link list) list of job offers’, <i>biznesradość</i> ‘lit. business joy’, <i>biznesrozwódka</i> ‘lit. business divorcee’
	P-A	<i>Krak-Biznes</i> (company name), <i>Stal-Biznes</i> ‘lit. steel-business’, <i>szmateksbiznes</i> ‘(lit. garment/rag business) second-hand shop’, <i>Własny kąt-biznes</i> (name of a bank product)
		<i>Biznesboy, BiznesFlesz</i> (‘business+flash’), <i>BiznesHelp</i>
		<i>Fotobiznes</i> (‘photo+business’), <i>Rap-biznes, TVbiznes, UFObiznes</i>

⁹ Both *baba* in *biznesbaba* and *chłop* in *bizneschłop* are Polish slang expressions for *woman* and *man*, respectively.

¹⁰ It must be emphasised that in cases where there is a numerous series of compound words sharing a common English lexical component, it may be problematic to decide whether a N+N expression is a loanblend half-translated directly from English or an independent native hybrid compound formed by Polish speakers by analogy to a series of already existing loanblends that share a common lexical component, e.g. *P. biznesgra* < E. *business game*, *biznes-śniadanie* < E. *business breakfast*, *biznesłakocie* < E. *business candies*. We assume that if a hybrid-looking expression has a discoverable English etymon, it is classified as a loanblend.

Table 4. *P. boy* (< *E. boy*)

L	LW	<i>boyfriend</i> , <i>boys band</i> (< <i>E. boy band</i>) <i>call-boy</i> , <i>cigar boy</i> , <i>fanboy</i> , <i>Game boy</i> , <i>kowboj</i> (< <i>E. cowboy</i>), <i>liftboy</i> , <i>playboy</i>
	LB	---
NF	HC	<i>echoboy</i> 'lit. echo boy' <i>copycat</i> , <i>flejboy</i> 'lit. slob boy', <i>kabinboy</i> 'lit. cabin [<i>kabina</i>] boy', <i>ziomboy</i> 'lit. male friend [<i>slang.</i>] boy', <i>kalboy</i> 'lit. excrement boy' toilet cleaner', <i>robotboy</i> (forum nickname), <i>szabes-boy</i> 'lit. sabbath boy', <i>želboy</i> 'lit. gel boy'
	P-A	<i>biznesboy</i> , <i>funboy</i> , <i>hellboy</i> (forum nicknames), <i>jazzboy</i> (label name), <i>xero-boy/kseroboy</i> ('xerox + boy', 'copycat')

Table 5. *P. burger* (< *E. burger*)¹¹

L	LW	<i>bekonburger</i> (< <i>E. bacon burger</i>), <i>cheeseburger</i> , <i>fishburger</i> , <i>hamburger</i> <i>Burger Bar</i> , ¹¹ <i>burger dolar</i> (< <i>E. burger dollar</i>)
	LB	<i>sojaburger</i> (< <i>E. soyburger</i>), <i>struśburger</i> (< <i>E. ostrich burger</i>) <i>burgerekonomia</i> (< <i>E. burger economy</i>)
NF	HC	<i>Bambolaburger</i> (name of a dish in a menu), <i>Bikontburger</i> (culinary critic's name + burger), <i>chamburger</i> 'lit. lout/boor burger', <i>Góral burger</i> 'lit. highlander burger', <i>Rogolburger</i> (nickname for inhabitants of a town + burger)
	P-A	<i>Popburger</i> ('pop + burger', title of an album by a rock band)

Table 6. *P. fan* (< *E. fan*)

L	LW	<i>fanblog</i> (< <i>E. fan blog</i>), <i>fanbook</i> (< <i>E. fan book</i>), <i>fanboy</i> , <i>fanklub</i> (< <i>E. fan club</i>), <i>fanmail</i> (< <i>E. fan mail</i>), <i>fan page</i> , <i>fansite</i> (< <i>E. fan site</i>) <i>bluesfan</i> (< <i>E. blues fan</i>), <i>gej-fan</i> (< <i>E. gay fan</i>), <i>hip-hop fan</i> , <i>jazzfan</i> (< <i>E. jazz fan</i>)
	LB	<i>fanstrona</i> (< <i>E. fan page</i>)
NF	HC	<i>cafefan</i> 'lit. cafe fan', <i>czekoladafan</i> 'lit. chocolate fan', <i>fredziofan</i> (name of a sit-com character + fan), <i>jazzgotfan</i> (name of a music club + fan), <i>Legiafan</i> (name of a football club + fan), <i>KSGfan</i> (name of a football club + fan) <i>fandyskoteka</i> 'lit. fan discotheque'
	P-A	<i>dyskofan</i> ('disco + fan'), <i>Filmfan</i> ('film + fan', name of a movie portal), <i>Mediafan</i> ('[mass]media + fan', name of a blog), <i>Netfan</i> ('net + fan', online music service)

¹¹ It must be noted that we cannot exclude a situation in which an expression such as *Burger Bar* used in Poland has been coined independently of the American expression, by analogy to other compounds with *bar* or *burger*, which are well-established loanwords in Polish.

Table 7. P. *-land* (< E. *land*)

L	LW	<i>Disneyland, Dixieland, Legoland, szetland</i> (< E. <i>shetland</i>) <i>landlord</i>
	LB	[sos] <i>Cumberland</i> (< E. <i>Cumberland</i> [sause])
NF	HC	<i>Biuroland</i> 'lit. bureau land' (name of an online store), <i>ciuch(o)land</i> 'lit. garment land' (name of a second-hand clothes shop), <i>drewland</i> 'lit. wood land' (company name), <i>kaczorland</i> 'lit. male duck/drake land' Poland', <i>Kulczykland</i> (name of (the late) millionaire + land) <i>fuchlandia</i> 'lit. moonlight work land + -ia'
	P-A	<i>Acidland</i> ('acid + land', a song by Myslovitz), <i>Babyland</i> ('baby + land', name of a store), <i>ComputerLand</i> ('computer + land', name of a computer company)

Table 8. P. *men* [sg.] (< E. *man*)

L	LW	<i>anchorman, barman, biznesmen</i> (< E. <i>businessman</i>), <i>bluesman, Buszmen</i> (< E. <i>Bushman</i>), <i>dejman</i> (< E. <i>dayman</i>), <i>discman</i> (< E. <i>Discman</i>), <i>dżentelmen</i> (< E. <i>gentleman</i>), <i>everyman, jazzman, frontman, gagman, kongresmen</i> (< E. <i>congressman</i>), <i>rastaman</i> (< E. <i>Rasta man</i>), <i>sandwichman, self-made man, servismen</i> (< E. <i>service-man</i>), <i>showmen/szołmen</i> (< E. <i>showman</i>), <i>Spidermen, sportsmen, walkman</i> (< E. <i>Walkman</i>)
	LB	---
NF	HC	<i>balangmen</i> 'lit. party [balanga, slang.] man', <i>blokmen</i> 'lit. condo man', <i>ciotmen</i> 'lit. gay [ciota, der.] man', <i>cyrkmen</i> 'lit. circus man', <i>kiczmen</i> 'lit. kitsch man', <i>klejmen</i> '(lit. glue man) drug addict', <i>maczugmen</i> 'lit. cudgel [maczuga] man', <i>rydzykmen</i> (personal name + man), <i>wiochmen/wieśmen</i> '(lit. village [wiocha/wieś] man) red-neck', ¹² <i>wuefmen</i> 'lit. PE man'
	P-A	<i>dredmen</i> ('dread(locks) + man'), <i>killmen</i> ('kill + man'), <i>ksermen</i> ('xerox + man'), <i>rockman</i> ('rock + man', 'rocker'), <i>shantymen</i> ('shanty + man')

¹² Formations such as *wiochmen* (*wiocha* 'village' + *man*) happen to be treated as cases of contamination (blending) in Konieczna (2012: 70). While the whole basic form (nominative case) of the Polish lexeme is *wiocha* ('village'), Polish as a highly inflectional language operates with units called inflection stems (*temat fleksyjny*) to which inflectional affixes are attached. Similarly, in word-formation processes derivational affixes and free morphemes are usually attached to a word-formative base (*podstawa słowotwórcza*), i.e. to *wioch-* in our case. By definition, compound words in Polish are formed with two or more word-formative bases (Grzegorzczkowska and Puzynina 1998: 455). Thus formations such as *wiochmen* (*wiocha* 'village' + *man*) and *kabinboy* (*kabina* 'cabin' + *boy*) are cases of compounds (see also Rostowska 2009: 187).

Table 9. P. *party* (< E. *party*)

L	LW	<i>Christmas party, cocktail party, garden party, grill party, IRC party, piżama party</i> (< E. <i>pyjama party</i>), <i>seks/sex party</i> (< E. <i>sex party</i>), <i>surprise party</i> <i>party line</i>
	LB	<i>ospa party</i> (< E. (<i>chicken</i>) <i>pox party</i>)
NF	HC	<i>apostazja party</i> 'lit. apostasy party', <i>balkon party</i> 'lit. balcony party', <i>ciuch party</i> 'lit. garment party', <i>Gryf Party</i> (name of an event for motorcyclists), <i>kartofel party</i> 'lit. potato party', <i>Krwinka Party</i> 'lit. blood cell party', <i>matura party</i> 'lit. high school exams party', <i>Obciach Party</i> 'lit. come-down party', <i>piana party</i> 'lit. lather party', <i>pizza party</i> , <i>PRL Party</i> 'lit. Polish People's Republic party', <i>sesja party</i> 'lit. end-of-term exams party', <i>toga party</i> 'lit. gown party [at a law school]', <i>Zimny Łokieć Mega Party</i> (name of a dancing event), <i>Żymlok Party</i> (name of a social event in the region of Silesia)
	P-A	<i>before party</i> ('before + party'), <i>bikini party</i> , <i>Castle Party</i> (an annual music event in Bolkowo), <i>drink party</i> , <i>fish party</i> , <i>gejparty</i> ('gay + party', 'party without ladies', expression of regret [<i>slang.</i>]), <i>The Funeral Party</i> (name of a music event at a club)

Table 10. P. *shop* (< E. *shop*)

L	LW	<i>photoshop</i> (< E. <i>Photoshop</i>), <i>porno shop</i> (< E. <i>porn shop</i>), <i>seks shop</i> (< E. <i>sex shop</i>), <i>skate shop</i> , <i>workshop</i>
	LB	<i>seks sklep</i> (< E. <i>sex shop</i>), <i>sex zabawki</i> (< E. <i>sex toys</i>)
NF	HC	<i>Farby Shop</i> 'lit. paints shop', <i>Flagi-Shop</i> 'lit. flags shop', <i>fliz-shop</i> 'lit. tile [<i>fliza</i>] shop', <i>Krak-Shop</i> 'lit. Krak[ów] shop', <i>Pasja Shop</i> 'lit. passion shop', <i>Rowery Shop</i> 'lit. bikes shop', <i>SiemaShop</i> 'lit. Howdy shop' - all are names of Polish online shops
	P-A	<i>Bikershop</i> ('biker + shop'), <i>ClimbingShop</i> ('climbing + shop'), <i>Gold-Shop</i> ('gold + shop'), <i>Hipi-shop</i> ('hippie + shop'), <i>Kiteshop</i> ('kite + shop'), <i>Sport-shop</i> ('sport + shop') - all are names of Polish online shops

Table 11. P. *show* (< E. *show*)

L	LW	<i>air show, fashion show, laser show</i> (< E. <i>laser light show</i>), <i>late night show, peep show, reality show, roadshow, slide show, talk show</i> , <i>show-biznes</i> (< E. <i>show business</i>), <i>showman, showroom</i>
	LB	---
NF	HC	<i>Babcia-Show</i> 'lit. grandma show' elderly people as models', <i>gumno-show</i> 'lit. barn-yard show', <i>horror-show, komisja-show</i> 'lit. commission show', <i>koncert-show</i> 'lit. concert show', <i>Książka-show</i> 'lit. book show', <i>kujon-show</i> 'lit. swot show', <i>Manuela-show</i> (personal name + show), <i>Nelly-Rokita-Show</i> (personal name + show), <i>Polagra-Show</i> (name of a farming machines show), <i>reality-sejm-show</i> 'lit. reality parliament show', <i>Rywinshow</i> (personal name + show), <i>Szymon Majewski Show</i> (personal name + show)
	P-A	<i>Art-Show</i> (company name), <i>biznes-show</i> 'world of politicians and businessmen', <i>Boatshow, City-Truck-Show, fire show</i> 'fire performance', <i>Ice-Show</i> (name of ice sculpture competition) ¹³

4. Features of Polish right-headed interfixless N+N compounds

The material labelled as native formations and presented in Tables 3–11 serves as the basis for the identification of features typical of the right-headed interfixless N+N compounds that have been coined independently in Polish, i.e. without copying any specific foreign etymons. What was copied was the structural model found in English compound loanwords and loanblends.

Both hybrid creations and pseudo-Anglicisms presented in Tables 3–11 are derived by analogy to English right-headed N+N compounds, e.g. P. *balkon party* (by analogy to E. *garden party, cocktail party*), Góral *Burger* (by analogy to E. *hamburger, cheeseburger* etc.). All formations are interfixless, endocentric and right-headed, i.e. the N_{Nom.} modifier precedes the N head, the compound is a hyponym of its determinatum, e.g. *balkon party* is a kind of *party*. Some of the English-sourced morphemes, i.e. *biznes* and *fan*, serve either as heads, as in P. *stalbiznes* 'lit. steel business', *czekoladafan* 'lit. chocolate fan', or as modifiers, e.g. *biznesbabcia* 'lit. business grandma', *fandyskoteka* 'lit. fan discotheque'. This

¹³ By way of digression, it must be noted that Polish formations with the selected English morphemes would be more numerous if the study allowed to take into account 1) compound words formed with the use of an interfix, e.g. *kaczkofan* (*kaczka* 'duck' + -o- + *fan*), 2) affixal derivatives, e.g. *eksfan* (*ex-* + *fan*) and 3) hybrid blends, e.g. *fikoland* (*fikołek* 'somersault' + *land*, name of a playground). In Polish, English compound loanwords with the selected morphemes include also 1a) Adj/Prep + N compounds, e.g. *afterparty* < E. *afterparty*, 1b) compounds with a combining form, e.g. *e-biznes* < E. *e-business*, and 2) affixal derivatives, e.g. P. *antyfan* < E. *anti-fan*. Polish *infobiznes* < E. *infobusiness*, *homofan* < E. *homofan* are cases of borrowed blends.

is a more common feature of loanblends, e.g. P. *struśburger* < E. *ostrich burger*, *burgerekonomia* < E. *burger economy*.

The majority of the analysed compounds, with the exception of the formations with *party* and *show* as heads (both remain uninflected in Polish), follow the Polish inflectional paradigms, e.g. *ciuchland*^{Nom.}, *ciuchlandu*^{Gen.}, *ciuchlandowi*^{Dat.}, *ciuchland*^{Acc.}, *ciuchlandem*^{Instr.}, *ciuchlandzie*^{Loc.}. On the other hand, as evidenced by all examples in Tables 3–11, the first element of an interfixless N+N compound loses inflectionality.

It seems that there are no formal constraints concerning the gender of the premodifying nouns. In the majority of the analysed N+N compounds, the native or well-assimilated premodifier is masculine (ends in a consonant), e.g. *cyrkmen* 'lit. circus man'. The final *-o* in premodifying neuter nouns resembles the interfix *-o-*, e.g. *Biuroland* 'lit. bureau land', which makes them easily adaptable. Native feminine nouns on occasion lose their final *-a* to attach to the head noun, as in *maczugmen* 'lit. cudgel [*maczuga*] man', *wiochmen* 'lit. village [*wiocha*] man', *fliz-shop* 'lit. tile [*fliza*] shop'. This, however, is not an absolute rule, cf. *Książka-show* 'lit. book show', *Pasja Shop* 'lit. passion shop'.¹⁴ The premodifying noun may also appear in the plural form, as in *Farby Shop* 'lit. paints shop', *Rowery Shop* 'lit. bikes shop', *shantymen* ('shanty + man').

Since the English-origin constituents of the native formations are established loanwords and the formations are endocentric compounds with a clearly identifiable head, most of the compound expressions are formally and semantically transparent. Semantic transparency is lost in compounds that have been coined to become proper names.

A future research question concerns the potential derivatives that would be formed on the basis of the analysed N+N compounds, such as *wiochmenka* (*wiochmen* + *-ka*) 'a female wiochmen', as well as *wiochmeństwo*, an abstract noun derived from *wiochmen* with the suffix *-stwo*, and *wiochmeński*, an adjective in *-ski*.

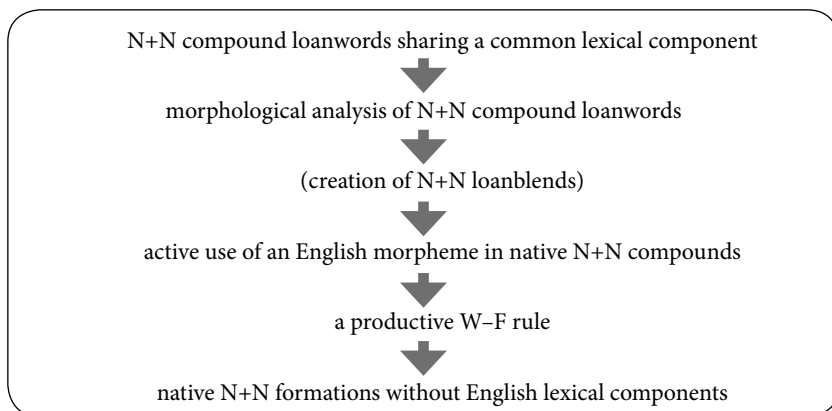
5. Mechanism of the contact-induced productivity of a word-formation rule

It is argued that the growing productivity of the word-formation rule for deriving right-headed interfixless N+N compounds in Polish is a by-product of intensive English lexical influence. English N+N compound loanwords were at first adopted as simple lexemes in Polish and remained unanalysed morphologically (Fisiak 1961: 105; Mańczak-Wohlfeld 1992: 22). Yet the growing English competence of Polish speakers and the reappearance of a common lexical element in a series of

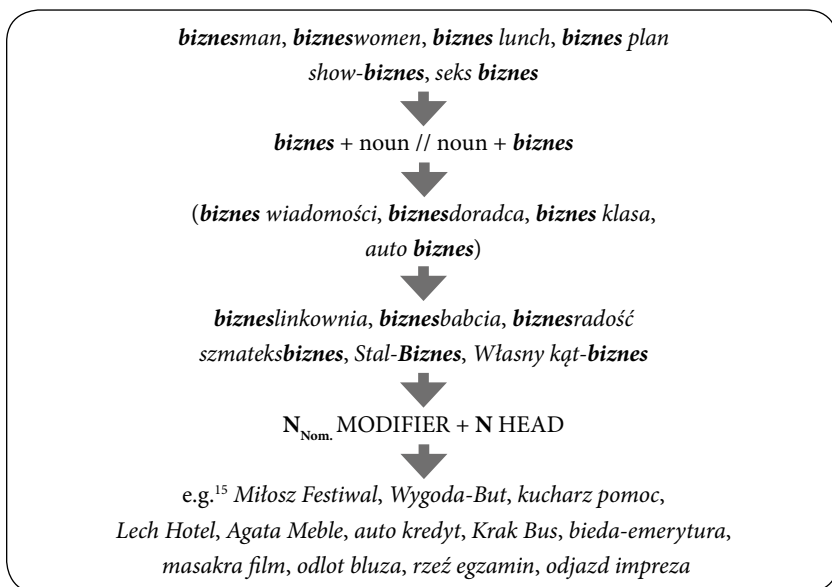
¹⁴ I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to this feature.

compound loans disclosed the morphological transparency of English compound loanwords and enhanced their morphological analysis. The next step was the application of the word-formation rule found in English compound loans in the production of native right-headed interfixless N+N compounds. A relatively large number of right-headed interfixless N+N loanblends may be considered an intermediate stage in the contact-induced boosting of the analysed word-formation rule.

The mechanism of the contact-induced productivity of a word-formation rule may be illustrated with the following diagram:



The above mechanism may be exemplified with the following:



¹⁵ Examples excerpted from the Polish media and language used in the public space.

6. Conclusion

Whether right-headed interfixless N+N compounding is considered a foreign word-formation rule, as suggested in some studies, or a native rule whose potential has been awakened by the influence of English, its growing, contact-induced productivity is a fact. If the word-formation rule in question had been used only once for the formation of a compound in Polish, it might be dismissed as analogy to compound loanwords from English. Yet, its multiple uses give evidence to its becoming a productive word-formation rule in Polish. In all cases (Tables 4–11), except for the compounds with *biznes*, native formations outnumber loanwords and loanblends, which proves that the analysed word-formation rule is used actively by Polish speakers. This is further strengthened by the high number of *hapax legomena* among the analysed N+N compounds. It is not the frequency of use of an individual lexeme but the number of expressions formed with the use of a particular word-formation rule that marks the productivity of that rule. The majority of the native compounds presented in Tables 3–11 are nonce formations and have not been attested in Polish dictionaries, which agrees with the observation that the results of the most productive word-formation processes tend not to be listed in lexicons (Aronoff 1976: 37).

The productivity of right-headed interfixless N+N compounding is facilitated by the lack of morphosyntactic and phonological restrictions, and by the relative semantic transparency of the endocentric N+N compounds. Their semantic transparency results from their formal regularity and their sharing a single lexical component that is used synchronically for the creation of new formations of the same word-formation type. The semantic transparency and pragmatic functionality soothe the structural oddity of the interfixless N+N expressions.

The formal features of right-headed interfixless N+N compounds identified in Section 4, i.e. fixed order of elements and their inseparability, right-headedness, interfixlessness, endocentricity, the premodifier's loss of inflectionality, and synthetic or analytic form, situate the analysed compounds between *zrosty* (Type 1) and *zestawienia* (Type 3). Synthetic right-headed interfixless N+N compounds share most features with *zrosty*, but the analytic form of some of the analysed compounds excludes them from this group. Labelling analytic right-headed interfixless N+N compounds as *zestawienia* does not seem right in view of the latter category possessing features such as left-headedness and inflectionality retained in both constituents. It seems that the formal features of right-headed interfixless N+N compounds make them qualify for a separate group of compounds in the Polish word-formation system.

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Instytut Neofilologii
Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny w Krakowie
ul. Karmelicka 41
31-128 Kraków
[alicja.witalisz\(at\)up.krakow.pl](mailto:alicja.witalisz(at)up.krakow.pl)